I take some heart in letters from the California Medical Association which indicate their opposition to this legislation and clearly state that they believe the amended legislation before us today falls very short of the mark. They indicate their strong opposition to this bill. I ask unanimous consent to include in the RECORD two letters I received from the California Medical Association.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, San Francisco, CA, May 20, 1997.

Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN, Hart Senate Office Building,

Washington DC

DEAR SENATOR FEINSTEIN: We have reviewed the amendments to HR 1122 and believe that they make no substantive changes to the legislation. While the debate over late-term abortion is painful, both within the medical community and the general citizenry, we believe these decisions must be left to physicians and patients . . . acting together.

While late-term abortions may have occurred inappropriately in some instances, they have also saved women's lives and the health and well-being of many American families. In a society where values are assaulted on every side . . . the bond between healer and patient is ever more important. Passages of HR 1122 would be one more step in eroding that relationship. The California Medical Association is opposed to this bill and is saddened the debate appeals to the emotive, rather than the reasoning, segment of America.

Sincerely,

ROLAND C. LOWE, M.D., President.

CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, San Francisco, CA, May 14, 1997.

Re opposition to H.R. 1122. Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN,

Hart Senate Office Bldg., Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR FEINSTEIN: The California Medical Association is writing to express its strong opposition to Congressional intrusion into the physician-patient relationship, as exemplified by the above-referenced bill, which would ban "partial-birth abortions." We believe that it is wholly inappropriate for a legislature to make decisions which prevent physicians from providing appropriate medical care to their patients. Physicians must be allowed to exercise their professional judgment when determining which treatment or procedure will best serve their patients' medical needs.

The obstetricians and gynecologists have already eloquently expressed the medical justifications for this procedure in rare but very real circumstances. CMA certainly does not advocate the performance of elective abortions in the last stage of pregnancy. However, when serious fetal anomalies are discovered late in a pregnancy, or the pregnant woman develops a life-threatening medical condition that is inconsistent with continuation of the pregnancy, abortion-however heart-wrenching-may be medically

CMA respects the concern that performing this type of abortion procedure late in a pregnancy is a very serious matter. However, political concerns and religious beliefs should not be permitted to take precedence over the health and safety of patients. CMA opposes any legislation, state or federal, that denies a pregnant woman and her physician

the ability to make medically appropriate decisions about the course of her medical care. The determination of the medical need for, and effectiveness of, particular medical procedures must be left to the medical profession, to be reflected in the standard of care. It would set a very undesirable precedent if Congress were by legislative fiat to decide such matters. The legislative process is ill-suited to evaluate complex medical procedures whose importance may vary with a particular patient's case and with the state of scientific knowledge.

CMA urges you to defeat this bill. Many of the patients who would seek the procedure are already in great personal turmoil. Their physical and emotional trauma should not be compounded by an oppressive law that is devoid of scientific justification.

Sincerely,

ROLLAND C. LOWE. President.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I believe the California Medical Association still represents the largest group of physicians anywhere in this Nation. No one seems to care about the Constitution, that this bill constitutes a direct challenge to the Roe versus Wade Supreme Court decision. The Supreme Court held that in Roe, a woman has a constitutional right to choose whether or not to have an abortion. It set for the different trimesters, some specific limitations on that right, that before viability, abortion cannot be banned; after viability, the Government can prohibit abortion, except when necessary to protect a woman's life or health.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. This bill, the bill before us, says the woman's health doesn't matter, it is of no consideration. I must tell you, to me a woman's health matters. It should be of direct consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. So I will vote no on this bill, and I really regret that this day is upon us. I thank the Chair. Mr. SANTORUM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I just suggest the American Medical Association and the other hundreds of doctors understand the point that seems to elude the Members of this Chamber. By outlawing this procedure they are, in fact, protecting the health of the mother, because this is an unhealthy procedure, this is a dangerous procedure. This procedure, as said by over 500 physicians "is never medically necessary, in order to preserve a woman's life, health or future fertility, to deliberately kill an unborn child in the second and third trimester, and certainly not by mostly delivering the child before putting him or her to death."

I will quote another obstetrician/gynecologist, Dr. Camilla Hersh:

Any proponent of such a dangerous procedure is at least seriously misinformed about medical reality or at worst so consumed by narrow minded "abortion-at-any-cost" activism to be criminally negligent.

What we are doing here is, in fact, advocating for the life health of the mother by banning a procedure which is a rogue procedure, not performed at hospitals, performed at abortion clinics, not even performed by obstetricians, invented by someone who is not an obstetrician. That is why the AMA wrote to me yesterday supporting H.R. 1122 as it now appears on the floor of the U.S. Senate saying:

Thank you for the opportunity to work with you toward restriction of a procedure we all agree is not good medicine.

In other words, it is not in the interest of the health or life of the mother to do this procedure. It is wrong to do this procedure. It is immoral to do this procedure because you are killing a little baby. You are killing a baby that is fourth-fifths born, that is moving outside of its mother. How can we accept that when there are other options available?

As I suggested before, here is living proof of other options available: a little girl who is here today on Capitol Hill, who will be right out here by the elevators during that vote. I ask Members to go over and to look into her eyes, to talk to her, because if her parents would have listened to all the expert doctors who knew what was best for their child, she wouldn't be here today.

She would have had this brutality. this violence, this vile procedure done on this innocent little girl who now walks and talks and writes notes-"Donna" with a hand there, reaching out asking that this procedure not be made available, so little girls like her, little boys like her, be given a chance at life.

The Senator from California said, these kids who are not well enough to make it. Who are we to decide whether they are well enough to make it? Who are we to say they should die because they are not perfect?

Give them a chance. Give them the dignity of being born and brought into this world with love, not violence and brutality. Give them a chance. Give them a chance.

I vield the floor.

## RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will stand in recess now until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 1:01 p.m., recessed until 2:15; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire).

## PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION BAN ACT OF 1997

The Senate continued with consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. What is the pending business?